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A PROPOSITIONAL INVENTORY OF THE EMPIRICAL WORK INVOLVING FOREIGN AFFAIRS
AND NATIONAL SECURITY ATTITUDES, 1960-1966: A NON-EVALUATIVE REVIEW*

Tom Atkinson

Civil Defense Research Project

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PREFACE

One important reason to develop a massive data base is the ability one then has to test theoretical generalizations across a wide variety of situations and stimuli. This propositional inventory allows us to exploit for theory testing an extensive survey data base on citizen handling of nuclear threat in particular, and of the external environment in general. It helps us to work in an efficient, cumulative fashion toward reliable predictions about public opinion on national security matters and generalized understanding of the correlates of relevant public opinion. We also hope that public opinion researchers and analysts will find this inventory a useful survey of theoretical research findings which have appeared since the last major reviews of citizen attitudes toward the international environment and American measures to cope with that environment.

Davis B. Bobrow

INTRODUCTION

This memorandum is the product of an attempt to systematically collect and present the results of empirical investigations of the relationship between various characteristics of the individual and national security/foreign policy attitudes, beliefs, and opinions. The survey of the literature presented here covers those studies published from 1960 through 1966. Early 1960 was taken as an appropriate starting point because 1959 was marked by the publication of two works which summarized the then-existent research in this area. Hero¹ compiled the empirical work which related various 'political' individual difference variables such as party affiliation, information level, and interest to foreign affairs opinions while Christiansen² was concerned with the relationship between more 'psychological' variables such as insecurity and aggression on one hand and foreign affairs opinions on the other.

This effort, along with the two above mentioned works, focuses on the relationship between various intervening or mediating variables and foreign affairs/national security attitudes and opinions. That is, information, interest, anxiety, authoritarianism, etc. are intervening variables in the sense that they are responsible for the manner in which the individual exposes himself to, perceives, and/or reacts to various political stimuli. Most of the studies reported here attempt to explain individual differences in overt response patterns in terms of individual differences on dispositional variables such as those mentioned above. For clarification purposes, this author's orientation can be described as social-psychological, and the variables derive primarily from psychology, sociology, and political science.

¹Hero, A.O. Americans in World Affairs. Boston, Mass.: World Peace Foundation, 1959.

²Christiansen, B. Attitudes Toward Foreign Affairs as a Function of Personality. Oslo: University of Oslo Press.

Criteria for inclusion in inventory

With three exceptions, relevant journal articles appearing from January, 1960 through December, 1966 inclusive are compiled in this inventory. Articles were included regardless of the type of sample used if the variables employed were judged relevant. To be judged relevant, the dependent variable in the reported relationship had to be a national security/foreign affairs attitude, opinion, or belief and at least one of the independent variables had to be an individual difference measure including demographic variables. The exceptions to this latter criteria are of two sorts:

- a) some findings have been included which relate one relevant individual difference variable which is often used in conjunction with national security/foreign affairs opinions to some domestic affairs attitude, for example, findings referring to the relationship between alienation and attitudes toward local bond referendums. Such findings are suggestive if the reader wishes to equate local bond referendums with certain foreign affairs issues such as foreign aid; however, no claim is made that either 1) all research on the relationship between such pairs of variables is included, or 2) that all suggestive relationships have been included.
- b) a considerably smaller number of studies have a foreign affairs relevant dependent variable but lack an individual difference independent variable, for example, the studies showing the effect of the Soviet Sputnik successes on the public's attitude toward defense spending and other issues. These studies are included because their results invite speculation about the individual difference variables responsible for the observed effect. Such mediating variables could also account for the differential effect of events on different members of the population thus increasing the power of the explanation. Again, no claim is made that all such studies have been included.

Literature search methods

Two literature search methods were employed to canvas the journals. The first involved the use of the Psychological Abstracts and the Sociological Abstracts. Abstracts judged to be relevant and appearing within the time period considered were compiled; the original articles were read and included if still judged relevant. This author was forced to rely on the classification system of the two Abstracts. In the case of the Sociological Abstracts, the categories "Social Psychology: personality and culture," and "Mass Phenomena: public opinion" were examined; in the Psychological Abstracts, the category "Social Psychology: attitudes and opinions" was considered relevant.

The second search technique involved the examination of the Table of Contents for those volumes of certain journals appearing from 1960 through 1966. If the article title appeared to be relevant, the article summary was read, and, if still judged relevant, the article was summarized and included. The journals examined in this manner were thought to be the most important publications in our content area and are as follows (in alphabetical order):

American Journal of Sociology
American Political Science Review
American Sociological Review
Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology
Journal of Conflict Resolution
Journal of Experimental Research in Personality
Journal of Experimental Social Psychology
Journal of Personality
Journal of Personality and Social Psychology
Journal of Social Issues
Journal of Social Psychology
Public Opinion Quarterly
Social Forces
Social Problems

As mentioned previously, there are three articles which did not appear in journals which are included in this inventory. Two of them, Scott and Rosenberg, appeared in Kelman (ed.), International Behavior: A Social-Psychological Analysis.³ The third, McClosky, appeared in Rosenau (ed.), Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy.⁴ These three articles are included because they are unquestionably relevant, and because they include reports of previously unpublished empirical work by their authors. Only those findings which were published for the first time in these articles are included in this inventory. The three articles are listed in a separate section following the journal articles but are referenced with the other articles.

Use of the index

The empirical findings are summarized in statements involving at least two variables, and all results from a single study are grouped together, the authors being ordered alphabetically. Each statement has a reference number. The Table of Contents refers the reader to all findings involving a particular variable by listing the numbers of all statements which include that variable. To locate findings relating pairs of variables, the reader should refer to those statements indexed under both variable names. For example, if one wishes to locate the findings on alienation/anomie, he should look up all statements whose numbers are indexed under alienation/anomie in the Table of Contents. If he wishes to locate those findings relating alienation/anomie to authoritarianism, he should look at those statements which are indexed jointly under both variables.

³Kelman, H.C. (ed.), International Behavior: A Social-Psychological Analysis. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965.

⁴Rosenau, J.N. (ed.), Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy. New York: Free Press, 1967.

PROPOSITION INDEXING CONCEPTS

The following individual difference concepts were used to index the propositions. The definition of each concept is the one characteristically used by investigators dealing with that variable.

1. Absolutism-gradualism: the desired rate of transition from the present policy to the preferred policy. The absolutist favors an immediate, one step changeover, the gradualist prefers a slower, stepwise shift.
2. Age: a demographic variable referring to the respondent's chronological age.
3. Anxiety:
 - a. dispositional: chronic fear, worry, and/or anxiousness; usually measured by the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale (Taylor, 1953).
 - b. situational: fear, worry, and/or anxiousness about a specific object or situation.
4. Authoritarianism: personality syndrome involving a variety of symptoms, e.g., submission to authority, intolerance of human weakness, anti-introspectionism; conceptually developed by Adorno, et.al. (1950) and usually measured by one of the many forms of the Facism (F) Scale.
5. Cognitive complexity: the number of different concepts used by the respondent in perceiving and describing a domain of objects, e.g., nations.
6. Consensus/conformity (attitudinal): the degree to which an individual or group holds the modal attitude of a larger social grouping of which it is a part.
7. Consistency (attitudinal): the degree to which attitudes held by an individual do not contradict each other; the contradiction usually being defined in terms of logical criteria or affective balance states.
8. Cynicism (political): a disbelief in the sincerity of the professed motives and/or competence of political leaders and a contempt for their motives and abilities.
9. Dogmatism (rigidity-flexibility): the openness of the respondent's belief and/or attitude systems to new information or the respondent's ability to take another point of view. Usually measured with Rokeach's Dogmatism (D) Scale. (Rokeach, 1960)
10. Education: demographic variable referring to the number of years of formal education of the respondent.

11. Efficacy: a belief in one's ability to produce a desired effect on some aspect of the environment, very close conceptually to the notion of powerlessness embodied in many conceptions of alienation, also similar to Rotter's (1962) Internal-External Control variable.
12. Ethnic-racial background: demographic variable referring to the race of the respondent or his present or past ethnic group membership.
13. Ethnocentrism: the tendency to see the environment in bipolar, in-group, out-group terms. The ascription of unfavorable characteristics to out-group members and favorable attributes to in-group members. Most elaborately developed by Adorno, et.al. (1950) and measured by Ethnocentrism (E) Scale.
14. Event sensitivity: the tendency to be aware of and influenced by political events including policy changes.
15. Extremity:
 - a. attitudinal: a preference for extreme or polarized attitudes, beliefs, or opinions.
 - b. policy preference: a preference for policies which are drastically different from those presently being pursued by the local, state, and/or federal agencies.
16. Generalized dispositions:
 - a. within domain: a tendency to react to all members of a class of objects (e.g., nations) in a similar way.
 - b. across domain: a tendency to react to members of different classes (e.g., nations and people) in similar ways.
17. Information level: the amount of factual information the respondent possesses about a particular area, usually domestic or foreign affairs.
18. Interest (political): the degree to which attention is focused, in any of a variety of ways, on the political realm. Often a self-reported variable, sometimes an activity measure.
19. Internationalism-Isolationism:
 - a. involvement: support for U.S. participation in various non-belligerent international projects and programs.
 - b. United Nations: specific support for U.S. involvement in and support for the United Nations Organization.
 - c. foreign aid: support for present and/or increased foreign aid expenditures by the U.S.
20. Intolerance of ambiguity: a preference for situations and information which is unambiguous, i.e., there is no uncertainty about the characteristics of the situation or object. Often measured by Budner's Intolerance of Ambiguity Scale.(Budner, 1962)

21. Liberalism-Conservatism: the tendency to endorsement of policy preferences and/or beliefs identified with liberal or conservative spokesmen (usually includes attitudes toward social-welfare programs, big government, economic issues, and social change). Also includes self-reported degree of liberalism and conservatism.
22. Machiavellianism/manipulativeness: the tendency to act toward other people and nations in a manner determined primarily by the perceived instrumentality of the act in gaining one's own end. In interpersonal relations, the variable is usually measured by Christie's Mach Scale. (Christie, 1959)
23. Media Exposure: the amount of time exposed to media of various types, the type of program exposure, and media source credibility ratings.
24. Nationalism: sense of national consciousness, loyalty or devotion to own nation above other nations or humanity (conceptually similar to anti-worldmindedness which is also classified under internationalism (involvement)).
25. Negative voting tendencies: the tendency to vote against the perceived power structure or Establishment by voting against their candidates or programs.
26. Occupation: demographic variable referring to the present job or employment of the respondent.
27. Opinionation (opinion holding): the tendency to express an opinion on a variety of issues.
28. Optimism-pessimism:
 - a. war outbreak and effects: perceived probability of war within a given time period and effects of such a conflict to the respondent, his community, and his nation.
 - b. personal: respondent's expectations about his future and that of his family.
 - c. general: expectations about the future state of domestic and international affairs, about half of the items refer to some specific aspect of the situation while the other half refer to conditions in general.
29. Personal involvement:
 - a. organizational membership: degree and type of participation in formal organizations.
 - b. political activism: amount and type of personal involvement in political activities including campaigning, membership in issue oriented political groups, and attitudes toward direct political action.
 - c. opinion leadership: the degree to which the respondent's advice is sought on political, ieconomic and social issues.

30. Political party identification: self-reported party identification, party registration, or party voting preference.
31. Region (geographic): demographic variable referring to the part of the country in which the respondent lives or was raised.
32. Reliance on military solutions, use of force, or threat of use of force:
 - a. use of military force: a preference for the use of military force rather than other less belligerent means (negotiations, economic aid, etc.) as solutions to international problems or frustrations.
 - b. strength: a preference for military preparedness options as a means of insuring national security as opposed to the advocacy of disarmament.
 - c. firmness: a preference for non-conciliatory stances in dealing with the enemy; an unwillingness to accept anything less than full acceptance of national demands. This dimension is independent of the type of means preferred to achieve that end.
33. Religion/religiosity: respondent's self-reported religious affiliation, religious activities, and the nature of his religious beliefs.
34. Response set: the tendency to give similar answers to a wide variety of questions, usually a tendency to acquise (answer "yes.")
35. Salience: the perceived importance of a particular issue area or situation, usually based on self reports.
36. Satisfaction-dissatisfaction:
 - a. political: the degree to which the respondent is happy with, satisfied with, or approves of some aspect of the political situation or leadership.
 - b. personal: the degree to which the respondent is happy or satisfied with his present situation or condition.
37. Sex: demographic variable referring to the sex of the respondent.
38. Shelter support: the degree to which the respondent supports various civil defense programs, primarily fallout shelters, and/or participates in those programs.
39. Similarity-dissimilarity (attitudinal): the degree to which another group or individual is perceived by the respondent as holding attitudes or beliefs which are similar to his own attitudes and beliefs.
40. Socioeconomic status: a general index of the respondent's status or prestige vis-a-vis other members of the group based on all or some set of the following demographic variables: occupation, income, education, religion, neighborhood, race, ethnic background, and sex.

41. Status consistency: the amount of similarity among the respondent's status position on several demographic variables usually including income, education, and ethnic-racial background.
42. Threat perception: the degree to which the respondent sees a particular object or situation as a threat to a valued object, usually his country or himself.
43. Time perspective: the degree to which conceptions of future events, contingencies, and outcomes influence the respondent's behavior or policy preferences.
44. Tolerance:
 - a. attitudinal: degree of acceptance of those holding attitudes and beliefs which deviate from those of the respondent.
 - b. ethnic-racial: degree of acceptance of those having ethnic-racial characteristics which deviate from those of the respondent (prejudice).
45. Trust:
 - a. interpersonal: the degree to which the respondent perceives other people as trustworthy and treats them accordingly.
 - b. international: the degree to which the respondent perceives other nations as trustworthy.
46. Voting behavior:
 - a. frequency: the frequency with which the respondent has voted in the past.
 - b. consistency: the regularity with which the respondent votes for the same party or candidate.
47. Alienation: originally a sociological concept now developed primarily as a psychological variable. Most often measured by either Srole's (1956) or Nettler's (1957) scale. The concept usually involves one or some combination of the following components:
 - a. normlessness: the general feeling of disassociation from the social norms and mores of the group--a lack of identification with or understanding of social standards.
 - b. powerlessness: beliefs on the part of the individual that he lacks the ability or power to influence the social structure or other persons. This component is very similar to the concept of personal efficacy.
 - c. social isolation: a general feeling of the individual that he is not a part of the social group, that he is isolated and alone against the world.

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JOURNAL PROPOSITIONS

Almond (1960)

001 A spectacular technological/military achievement (Sputnik) by the enemy results in

- an increase in the salience of foreign affairs and defense problems
- an increased sense of personal vulnerability
- an increased support for education and defense expenditures
- a loss of faith in the party in power.

Anast (1965)

002 A desire to reduce governmental welfare programs (backward time orientation) was associated with a dissatisfaction with news media, a general pessimism and pessimism about war expectancy; a desire for more programs (forward time orientation) was associated with satisfaction with media and optimism about war and in general.

003 Temporal orientation is a generalized trait, consistent across the personal, domestic, and international domains.

Back and Gergen (1963a)

004 Those who endorsed futility items (either short time perspective or general pessimism) tend to prefer extreme, one-step solutions to both domestic and international problems.

005 Long time perspective was associated with

- favorable attitudes toward foreign aid
- optimism about the likelihood of war
- optimism about future unemployment.

006 Low information level about foreign affairs was associated with a large number of don't know responses to attitude items (disinterest).

Back and Gergen (1963b)

007 Serial time orientation (events are repeatable in time) versus apocalyptic orientation (events unique, impending misfortune) was associated with

- optimism about international and domestic economic affairs
- optimism about personal and general domestic affairs.

008 Education was positively correlated with serial time orientation while age was positively correlated with an apocalyptic orientation.

Barker (1963)

009 There was no relationship between authoritarianism and extremity of political attitudes (PEC scale).

010 High dogmatism is associated with high conservatism.

Barker (1963) continued

011 The F-Scale as a measure of authoritarianism is associated with political conservatism.

Barton (1963)

012 Jewish respondents were more likely than Protestants, and Protestants more likely than Catholics, to mention political action as a solution to the threat of nuclear war.

013 Support for fallout shelters as a personal solution to the threat of nuclear war was not associated with reliance on strength rather than negotiation as a national response to that threat.

014 Age was positively correlated with the mention of military preparedness rather than negotiation as a solution to the threat of nuclear war.

015 Those with a college education are more likely than those without to see personal political action as a solution to the threat of war.

016 Among Catholics, education was negatively correlated with favoring of negotiations rather than strength; among Protestants and Jews, the correlation was positive.

Bendig, Vaughan, Ray, and Klions (1960)

017 Favorableness of attitude toward the space program was positively correlated with level of information about that program but not related to party identification or tough-tendermindedness.

Berrien (1963)

018 Fallout shelter owners differed from non-owners in that the owners

- thought an accidental war was more possible
- thought that their area (geographic) would be attacked
- tended to place more reliance on military preparedness as a means of keeping the peace.

019 Shelter owners did not differ from non-owners in the degree of perceived threat from Russia or beliefs about the hazards of nuclear war.

Berrien, Schulman, and Amarel (1963)

020 Those who had built fallout shelters in their homes as compared with those who had not had

- higher income
- higher educational level
- greater tendency to believe U.S. was losing Cold War
- greater tendency to believe that war could occur by accident
- greater tendency to favor strong military policy as means of keeping the peace.

Berrien, Schulman, and Amarel (1963) continued

021 Shelter builders did not differ from non-builders in their perception of the effects of nuclear war.

Bordua (1961)

022 Intolerance of political and religious non-conformists was positively correlated to authoritarianism (F-Scale). The relationship did not disappear when attitude toward authority was factored out.

Breed and Ktsanes (1961)

023 An individual's perception of public opinion on a given issue tends to be biased in a conservative direction, i.e., the public in general is thought to hold attitudes which are more conservative than the respondent's own attitudes.

024 Those favoring liberal policies were more accurate in their perception of public opinion than those favoring the more conservative policies.

025 Education was not related to accuracy of perception of public opinion.

Bronfenbrenner (1960)

026 Participation in community affairs was negatively correlated with

- a tendency to describe oneself and others in unfavorable terms (termed *dismalit* by the author could be general dissatisfaction)
- social class (with acquiescence and *dismalit* held constant)
- mistrust of people (with social class and *dismalit* held constant)
- high information about local and national affairs.

Budner (1962)

027 Intolerance of ambiguity was positively correlated with religiosity, favorable attitudes toward censorship, and authoritarianism; and negatively correlated with Machiavellianism.

Byrne (1965)

028 Authoritarianism was not related to tolerance for nonconformists but perceived similarity-dissimilarity was.

Campbell (1960)

029 High political interest was associated with high frequency of voting and with straight ticket voting at the national level.

Campbell and Cain (1965)

030 The percentage of the population supporting the use of force against another country is a function of

- the belligerent actions of the other country
- the policy of the national government toward the belligerent.

Carlsson (1965)

031 "The degree of smoothness shown by some empirical vote series can be accounted for by assuming delayed response and stimulus variations typically over a year or a good part of it but not very much beyond a year."

Carter (1962)

032 Educational level is negatively correlated with polarization (extremity) of images.

Carter and Clarke (1962)

033 Self designated opinion leadership was associated with

- high exposure to mass media
- low resistance to political change.

034 There was no difference between self designated leaders and followers in

- voluntary organization membership
- amount of time spent interacting with others
- anomie.

Chesler and Schmuck (1964)

035 A hard line policy toward the Cuban crisis was associated with

- high political conservatism (v. high liberalism)
- anti-intellectualism (authoritarian symptom)
- high ethnocentrism.

036 Those who reported being frightened by the U.S.-Soviet confrontation over Cuba were

- in favor of a less aggressive U.S. policy
- more pessimistic about the influence of public opinion (political futility).

Chu (1966)

037 Individuals tended to minimize the magnitude of a threat when

- the threat was imminent rather than remote
- the solution was perceived as ineffectual rather than efficacious.

Cohen (1966)

038 The military policy public (high military policy information) as compared with the foreign policy public was

- disproportionally more male
- younger
- more highly educated.

039 Self rated interest in military affairs was not a very good predictor of level of information about military affairs.

Crespi (1964)

040 The American public's reaction to the Eichmann trial was an increase in sympathy for the Jews but no decrease in sympathy for the Germans.

041 Those who thought that Jews had too much power did not differ from those who thought they did not in their reactions to the Eichmann trial.

Crittenden (1962)

042 Age is positively correlated with Republicanism especially among middle class respondents.

Dean (1960)

043 There were no sizeable correlations (over $\pm .20$) between the various aspects of alienation (powerlessness, normlessness, social isolation) and political apathy (interest, influence, voting frequency).

044 Of the demographic variables, only age was related to political apathy (interest, influence, voting frequency).

Dean (1961)

045 The different aspects of alienation (powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation) were all positively correlated.

046 All aspects of alienation (powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation) were negatively correlated with

- occupational status
- education
- income

and positively correlated with age.

DeSoto, Kuethe, and Wunderlich (1960)

047 High authoritarians tended to be more suspicious and afraid of strangers than low authoritarians, but there were no differences between the two groups on intolerance of ambiguity, rigidity, or acquiescence measures.

Deutsch (1960)

048 In a two person game, high authoritarians were more untrusting and untrustworthy than low authoritarians.

Deutsch and Proshansky (1961)

049 Current affairs information level was related to educational level among middle class respondents.

Diab (1965)

050 Individuals expose themselves selectively to those media sources which have the same views that they do.

Dillehay (1964)

051 The immediate effect on an international confrontation (the U-2 incident) between the U.S. and Russia on the American public was to increase the perceived likelihood of a more aggressive soviet foreign policy and of a world war. This increase diminished very quickly over time as Soviet intentions became more visible.

Ekman, Cohen, Moos, Schlesinger, and Stone (1963)

052 An active anti-shelter group differed from an active pro-shelter group in that the former

- saw nuclear war as more devastating
- preferred direct political action to damage limiting alternatives (shelters) to reduce the threat of war
- saw themselves as more politically liberal although there was no actual difference in political opinions
- was disproportionately Jewish
- there was no difference between the group's estimate of the imminence of nuclear war.

Epstein (1965)

053 An increase in the perceived threat of nuclear war resulted in

- more favorable attitudes toward military preparedness and the use of force in international affairs
- greater pessimism about the outbreak of war
- greater confidence that one's own side would win any conflict.

Epstein (1966)

054 High authoritarians were more likely to imitate aggressive models than low authoritarians.

Erbe (1964)

055 Political participation was associated with

- high socio-economic status
- high organizational involvement
- low alienation-high political efficacy.

Erbe (1964) continued

056 With socioeconomic class held constant, alienation/efficacy was not related to political participation but organizational membership was.

Eysenck (1961)

057 Tendermindedness was negatively correlated with extraversion (both Eysenck's measures).

058 Socioeconomic class is negatively correlated with toughmindedness (hard-line domestic and foreign policies).

Farris (1960)

059 Authoritarianism was positively correlated with jingoism and pessimism about the likelihood of war but these correlations were greatly reduced when education was held constant.

060 Age was positively correlated with authoritarianism, political anomie, and jingoism.

061 Political anomie was positively correlated with jingoism and pessimism about the likelihood of war.

062 Education is negatively correlated with jingoism, authoritarianism, political anomie, and pessimism about the likelihood of war.

Foulkes and Foulkes (1965)

063 Dogmatism was negatively correlated with tolerance of individuals with personality traits different from those of the respondent.

Frymier (1961)

064 College students had a more favorable attitude toward Russia than high school students from the same region.

Galtung (1964)

065 Social position (Galtung C-P index) was positively correlated with

- political participation (voting, newspaper reading, organization membership)
- political knowledge
- attitudinal consistency
- internationalism (cooperation).

066 Social position (Galtung C-P index) was negatively correlated with

- alienation
- absolutism or moralism
- religious fundamentalism
- number of don't know responses to opinion questions (opinion holding was positively correlated with social position).

Gamson (1961)

067 Opposition to a fluoridation referendum was associated with high feelings of powerlessness and alienation with age, education, and income held constant but was not related to political liberalism-conservatism.

Gamson and Modigliani (1966)

068 Information level is positively correlated with belief-policy preference consistency.

069 There was a positive correlation between information level and support for governmental policies.

070 There was a negative correlation between information level and hard-line attitudes toward communist nations (military preparedness and conciliation).

Garrison (1961)

071 Religious fundamentalism is negatively correlated with worldmindedness in the South.

072 As time spent in college increases, worldmindedness increases.

073 Southern students were less worldminded than students from other areas of the country.

Gergen and Back (1965)

074 With belief about the consequences of a policy held constant, age was positively correlated with a preference for belligerent policies.

075 Increasing age was associated with

- a. lack of support for foreign aid
- b. preference for immediate payoff (short run) policies in Korea
- c. preference for punitive and immediate policies in interpersonal and domestic issues
- d. tendency to see human characteristics as hereditarily rather than environmentally determined.

Gladstone and Gapta (1964)

076 There was no relationship between dogmatism and the tendency to attribute undesirable traits to peoples of other nations (ethnocentrism).

Gore and Rotter (1963)

077 Feelings of personal efficacy (Rotter's high internal control) were positively correlated with a willingness to take part in direct action campaigns (civil rights).

Halle (1966)

078 As social position (Galtung's C-P index) increased so did

- political knowledge
- organizational memberships
- mass media exposure
- opinion holding (number of don't know responses to opinion questions decreased)
- percentage of group that was not pessimistic and apocalyptic about nuclear war
- the percentage favoring gradualist rather than absolutist foreign policy alternatives
- optimism about future national economic conditions
- satisfaction with present economic condition
- percentage holding the majority opinion on various issues.

079 The attitudinal differences between adjacent socioeconomic status groups increase as socioeconomic status increases.

Hamilton (1965)

080 Occupational skill level is unrelated to political party identification.

Harned (1961)

081 High authoritarians were less likely to hold the same political attitudes as those leaders of the party in which they were active, i.e., they were less likely to be active in party work for ideological reasons.

082 Among those active in political party work, low authoritarians belonged to more organizations than high authoritarians.

083 There was no correlation between authoritarianism and a tendency to be active in political organizations.

Hero (1966)

084 The higher the educational level

- the more informed the respondent on UN issues
- the greater the tendency to express opinions on UN issues
- the less the fluctuation of attitudes in response to dramatic events
- the greater the approval of U.S. participation in the UN
- the less the tendency to endorse hard-line policies toward Communist nations in the UN.

085 Hard-line attitudes toward Communist nations in the UN were associated with opposition to U.S. involvement in cooperative international organizations.

086 Approval of the UN was associated with endorsement of

- U.S. participation in other multilateral cooperative organizations
- negotiations between the U.S. and Soviet Union.

Hero (1966) continued

087 Old age was associated with low opinion holding on UN issues and isolationist attitudes toward the UN.

088 Women were less likely to be well informed about the UN, hold fewer opinions about UN issues, and be against a UN Permanent Force than men.

089 Southerners were less likely to support U.S. participation in the UN or be favorably disposed to the UN than respondents from other regions of the country.

090 Negroes were more likely to be uninformed about the UN, hold fewer opinions on UN issues, and be for the admission of Communist China to the UN than whites.

091 Jews were the religious group most favorably disposed toward the UN followed by Catholics and then Protestants.

092 Those identifying with the political party controlling the Presidency will be more favorably disposed toward the UN than those identifying with the opposition party if the President openly supports the UN.

093 Voters were more likely than non-voters to be favorably disposed toward the UN.

094 Self-reported liberals were more likely than conservatives to be favorably disposed toward the UN.

Horton and Thompson (1962)

095 Low efficacy and high alienation were associated with the tendency to vote against local bond issues.

Jackson and Burke (1965)

096 Status inconsistency was positively correlated with psychological stress with large discrepancies between education, occupation, and ethnic background having much stronger effects relative to small discrepancies.

097 Psychological stress or anxiety is

- a. positively correlated with ethnic status
- b. negatively correlated with education
- c. negatively correlated with occupational status.

Jones and Lambert (1965)

097 High acceptance of immigrants was associated with

- a. high prestige of the immigrant's occupation
- b. high prestige of the respondent's occupation.

Katz and Foulkes (1962)

099 High alienation is associated with high use of the mass media as an escape.

Katz and Piret (1964)

100 Conspicuous failures in foreign affairs which are attributable directly to the President are usually followed by an increase in public satisfaction with the President.

Kelly and Chambliss (1966)

101 Political liberalism (attitudes toward welfare, civil rights, and internationalism) is associated with

- social class
- minority group membership
- status consistency, although the first two variables are more powerful predictors than status consistency.

Kelman and Barclay (1963)

102 High authoritarianism was associated with

- high intolerance for ambiguity
- being male rather than female
- coming from a non-professional background.

Kerlinger and Rokeach (1966)

103 Although dogmatism and authoritarianism are positively correlated, they are factorially separate.

Kessel (1965)

104 Cognitive differentiation was correlated with playing an active part in political party activities.

105 Political information level, cognitive differentiation, logical consistency, and time perspective were all positively correlated.

106 Opinion leadership (trying to talk someone into changing a political opinion) was associated with

- high political information level
- high cognitive differentiation
- high logical consistency
- long range time perspective.

Koenig and King (1964)

107 There was a negative correlation between cognitive complexity and stereotyping.

Kraws, Mebling, and El-assal (1963)

108 Low knowledge about the effects of fallout was associated with

- a highly ethnocentric, good-bad comparison of the U.S. and Soviet Union
- a belief that the mass media were exaggerating the effects of fallout.

Kraws, Mebling, and El-assal (1963) continued

109 There were no differences between high and low information about fallout groups with regard to

- anxiety about fallout
- exposure to mass media.

Kuroda (1964)

110 Preference for peace oriented (non-reliance on military might) was associated with

- high information level
- optimism about the chances of world peace
- low authoritarianism
- low political Machiavellianism
- cynical appraisals of politicians.

Kuroda (1966)

111 Peace orientation (non-reliance on military capability) was associated with

- newspaper reading when newspapers were peace oriented
- political liberalism
- high education
- optimism about the likelihood of war
- high salience of the war/peace issue.

Laulicht (1965)

112 Religious dogmatism was associated with pessimism about the outbreak of war, belligerency toward communism, and advocacy of large defense expenditures.

113 High education was associated with favorable attitudes toward foreign aid, the UN, coexistence, and disarmament but no other socioeconomic variable was related to the above attitudes.

114 Approval of domestic cooperative/help programs such as the welfare program was associated with approval of international cooperative/help programs such as the UN and foreign aid.

115 High information level about foreign affairs was associated with favorable attitudes about foreign aid.

116 Trust or distrust of Russia was associated with trust or distrust of the U.S. among Canadians.

Lerner (1965)

117 Attempts to increase support for civil defense preparations such as fallout shelters resulted in an increase in the perceived likelihood of war.

Leventhal, Jacobs, and Kudirka (1964)

118 High authoritarians were more politically conservative than low authoritarians but there was no difference in party affiliation between the two groups nor was there any difference in susceptibility to group norms.

Levine and Modell (1965)

119 Fallout shelter owners were more likely to regard force as a valid instrument of national policy than non-owners but were not more pessimistic about the outbreak of war.

120 Favorable attitudes toward fallout shelters were associated with

- pessimism about the likelihood of war
- greater reported anxiety or worry about nuclear attack.

121 High anxiety about nuclear attack was associated with

- being young or middle aged rather than old
- having dependents
- being female
- low socio-economic status.

122 Socioeconomic status was negatively correlated with favorableness toward fallout shelters even with war anxiety held constant.

Lindenfeld (1964)

123 Political involvement (interest, participation, and competence) was associated with

- moderate and high socioeconomic status
- satisfaction with personal financial state
- a belief that the outcome of the upcoming election would have some consequences for the respondent.

Lott and Lott (1963)

124 High ethnocentrists (California E-Scale) were less likely than low ethnocentrists to lower their estimate of U.S. space superiority after Russian successes in space.

Lutzker (1960)

125 Internationalism was associated with a tendency to trust other players in two person games.

MacKinnon and Centers (1963)

126 Authoritarianism was negatively correlated with degree of perceived knowledge about life in the Soviet Union but positively correlated with certainty of judgement of own knowledge.

McClintock, Harrison, Strand, and Gallo (1963)

127 Internationalism was positively correlated with the respondent's number of cooperative responses in a two person game regardless of the other player's strategy.

McClosky, Hoffman, and O'Hara (1960)

128 Democratic leaders differed from Republican leaders in that they were more in favor of

- governmental rather than private control of atomic energy
- few immigration limitations
- reliance on the U.N.
- American participation in military alliances
- foreign aid
- increased defense spending.

129 Ideological differences between Republican and Democratic leaders were much more pronounced than differences between the followers of the two parties. This difference is probably due to differences in information level, cognitive complexity, salience, interest, involvement but these variables were not measured directly.

McClosky (1964)

130 Political influentials differed from the general population in that they demonstrated

- greater support for democratic ideals
- greater support for existing political institutions
- greater belief in equality
- less political cynicism
- less political futility or feelings of powerlessness.

131 Although there was no difference in influential and general public support for general statements of freedom of speech, influentials were much more tolerant of expression of deviant opinions in specific situations.

McClosky and Schaar (1965)

132 Feelings of normlessness were positively correlated with

- pessimism
- powerlessness
- cynicism
- acquiescence
- intolerance of ambiguity
- rigidity
- manifest anxiety
- intolerance of human weakness
- attitudinal extremity
- authoritarianism.

133 Normlessness was negatively correlated with

- life satisfaction
- ego strength
- faith in people
- tolerance of deviancy
- intellectuality
- information level
- education.

McDill (1961)

134 Socioeconomic status variables, especially education, were negatively correlated with authoritarianism, anomie, and prejudice (ethnocentrism).

135 Authoritarianism, anomie, and prejudice (ethnocentrism) were all positively correlated, and authoritarianism was correlated with anomie with ethnocentrism held constant.

McDill and Ridley (1962)

136 Education is positively correlated; political alienation (powerlessness) and anomie negatively correlated with voting frequency.

137 Education is negatively correlated and political alienation (powerlessness) and anomie (Srole) positively correlated with opposition to new political programs.

McGinnies (1965)

138 There was no relationship between extremity of the attitude and the strength with which the attitude was held.

139 Written communications had a greater effect on attitudes than communications which were listened to.

McLeod, Ward, and Tanneill (1965)

140 Alienation was not associated with amount of mass media usage but was associated with a preference for electronic as opposed to print media and preference for sensational as opposed to informational stories.

Micheal (1960)

141 A spectacular technological/military achievement (Sputnik) by the enemy results in

- increased support for education and defense expenditures
- a recognition that the U.S. was presently behind in the space race but would eventually exceed Soviet accomplishments.

Middleton (1963)

142 High alienation was associated with being Negro and with low education holding race constant.

Miller (1965)

143 Dogmatism and involvement were both positively correlated with resistance to attitude change but involvement accounted for more of the variance than dogmatism.

Mogar (1960)

144 High authoritarian individuals rate persons and groups in more extreme terms than low authoritarian individuals. This difference is especially pronounced when controversial groups are being rated.

Neal and Rettig (1963)

145 Alienation scales factored into powerlessness and normlessness factors. Factors were stable for manual and non-manual workers.

Neal and Seeman (1964)

146 Feelings of powerlessness were negatively correlated with membership in work-related organizations with socioeconomic class and social mobility held constant.

Nidorf and Chockett (1965)

147 High cognitive complexity was associated with the ability to incorporate both positive and negative information about an object while low complexity was associated with the tendency to use only positive or negative information.

Novak and Lerner (1966)

148 Attempts to increase acceptance of fallout shelters were followed by increases in pessimism about the likelihood of war.

149 Anxiety about nuclear war was not correlated with perceptions of the imminence of such a war but was correlated with judgments of its effects.

Olsen (1965)

150 Low socioeconomic status, especially occupation, was associated with high alienation.

151 Education was inversely correlated with alienation.

152 High alienation was associated with a desire for more domestic action but disapproval of foreign aid.

Oskamp (1965)

153 Identical international actions or policies were more favorably evaluated when they were attributed to one's own country than to an enemy.

Peabody (1966)

154 Authoritarianism and dogmatism were associated with a tendency to give yes answers to complex opinion questions.

Plant, Telford, and Thomas (1965)

155 High dogmatism was associated with stereotyped and conventional thinking.

Powell (1962)

156 Dogmatism was negatively correlated with the ability to differentiate source from message.

Powell (1966)

157 Dogmatism was positively correlated with

- extremity of own attitude
- intolerance of other's differing attitudes.

158 Attitudinal extremity was positively correlated with intolerance of other's attitudes.

Prien (1966)

159 Anti-worldmindedness was associated with several authoritarian symptoms including personal conservatism, status oriented, and rigidity.

Putney and Middleton (1962)

160 Acceptance of war as an instrument of national policy was associated with (all relationships with sex held constant)

- high political conservatism (v. high liberalism)
- high status concern (authoritarian symptom)
- belief that nuclear weapons would be used
- belief that U.S. could win a meaningful victory in a nuclear war
- belief that war was probable within 10 years.

161 Males are more likely than females to

- accept nuclear war as an instrument of national policy
- be optimistic about the outcome of such a war for themselves and the nation
- be more certain that nuclear weapons will be used in a war
- know more about nuclear weapons.

Quimey (1964)

162 Political alienation was associated with

- low socioeconomic status
- high religious fundamentalism.

163 High fatalism is associated with

- low socioeconomic status
- high religious fundamentalism.

Richard (1965)

164 Approval of the U.S. space program was associated with

- high information levels about the program
- a belief that Soviet space achievements threatened the U.S.
- a commitment to the scientific exploration of space.

Rose (1962)

165 Leaders of various voluntary state wide organizations differed from the general public in that they

- were of a higher socioeconomic status
- belonged to more voluntary organizations discounting those which they led
- were significantly lower on feelings of normlessness and powerlessness (the differences between the two groups on Srole's anomie scale and a social isolation scale were not significant)
- were more satisfied with their occupations but less satisfied with their achievements
- were less cynical about the political system.

Rose (1963)

166 High religiosity is associated with pessimism about the possibility of war in the relatively near future (5 to 10 years).

167 The college educated were more likely to say that they would not build a fallout shelter than non-college educated.

168 Optimism-pessimism about the likelihood of a nuclear war was not related to optimism-pessimism about one's personal future.

169 Support for fallout shelter programs was associated with

- having school age children
- low socioeconomic status (low income, low education)
- greater perceived imminence of nuclear war
- hard line attitudes toward international communism.

Rose (1966)

170 Alienation and authoritarianism were positively correlated with racial prejudice. The relationship between alienation and prejudice was stronger than between authoritarianism and prejudice.

Rosenberg (1962)

171 Low self-esteem (lack of confidence in own ability to have an effect on others) was associated with low political interest and political activity. Low self esteem was also associated with high interest in personal affairs.

Rosi (1965)

172 High education and interest (voting) groups respond more quickly and more extremely to international events or policy changes, i.e., their opinions are more readily effected.

173 Governmental changes in testing suspension preceeded rather than followed changes in public opinion.

174 Educational level was positively correlated with information about fallout and both were negatively correlated with anxiety about the dangers of fallout.

Russet (1960)

175 Approval of foreign aid was associated with salience of international problems (self report importance of international problems).

176 No relationship between isolationism and party affiliation, ethnic background, or urban-rural residence based on 1952 Roper survey.

Rutherford (1966)

177 Political campaign participation was associated with high socio-economic status, a sense of personal efficacy, and participation in smaller political units.

178 Mental health was not correlated with political interest, political activity, or extremity of political attitudes.

Schmitt (1965)

179 Among married women, status consistency was positively correlated with political conservatism on domestic issues.

Scott (1960)

180 There was a positive correlation between the values a person expeneses in interpersonal relations and those espoused for nations in international affairs.

181 Foreign affairs values clustered into two groups termed international cooperativeness and international competitiveness.

Scott (1962)

182 Information level is positively correlated with cognitive complexity.

183 Closed cognitive systems (inadmissible for further defining attributes) become more rigid (permanent, unchangeable) over time.

Seeman (1966)

184 Organizational membership was associated with low alienation (powerlessness) and high political knowledge.

185 Alienation (powerlessness) was negatively correlated with political knowledge even with education held constant.

186 Degree of involvement in organizations was negatively correlated with alienation (powerlessness) and positively correlated with knowledge, the latter relationship holding only for manual workers.

187 Interest in politics was negatively correlated with alienation (powerlessness) and positively correlated with political knowledge.

Sheatsley and Feldman (1964)

188 The assassination of President Kennedy was followed by

- a very rapid dissemination of the news of his death
- an individual reaction beginning with denial followed by shock and physical symptoms and a gradual recovery
- no change in attitudes toward religion, tolerance, or the trustworthiness of people.

Simmons (1965a)

189 Alienation from society was not related to

- political liberalism
- feelings of inefficacy and normlessness.

190 Alienation from society was associated with

- low religious liberalism
- dissatisfaction with one's life.

Simmons (1965b)

191 Tolerance of attitudinal differences is greater if the divergence is toward the more conservative rather than more liberal.

192 Tolerance of attitudinal discrepancy decreases as dissimilarity increases.

193 Tolerance for attitudinal discrepancy is positively correlated with liberalism but relationship levels out for extreme liberals.

194 There was no relationship between alienation and tolerance for attitude dissimilarity.

Smith (1961)

195 Education and occupational status were positively correlated with

- quickness of response to international events
- duration of high concern with international events
- information level about international affairs
- awareness of international affairs
- stability of attitudes toward object, group, etc.

Smith (1961) continued

196 Education and occupational status were negatively correlated with

- endorsement of preventive war during international crisis
- pessimism about the likelihood of war
- isolationism.

Smith (1962)

197 The success of the first Soviet manned space flight was to reduce the confidence of Americans that

- the U.S. was and would continue to be militarily stronger than the Soviet Union
- the U.S. was and would continue to win the Cold War.

Smith (1965)

198 Authoritarianism was negatively correlated with future time orientation.

Spitzer and Denzin (1965)

199 Following a spectacular event (the Kennedy assassination), high information level about that event was associated with

- a personal reliance on more than one type of information source
- being male rather than female
- being young or middle aged rather than old
- being white collar rather than blue collar.

Steiner and Vannoy (1966)

200 High attitudinal conformity across a variety of situations was associated with high manifest anxiety and interpersonal aggression but was not related to authoritarianism.

Stillman, Guthrie, and Becker (1960)

201 Self-reported political interest was positively correlated with high political information.

202 Those identifying with the minority party were better informed than majority party identifiers on political issues.

Stone (1965)

203 There was no relationship between the size of the voter turnout (high turnout may mean many alienated voters) and the passage or rejection of the issues.

Strickland, Lewicki, and Katz (1966)

204 There was a positive correlation between efficacy (Internal-External Control) and risk taking in a game situation.

Templeton (1966)

205 High political alienation (Srole) was associated with

- being Negro
- low educational level
- low socioeconomic status.

206 Although alienation was not correlated with party identification or presidential voting preferences, it was associated with

- inconsistent party voting patterns
- low political interest
- low political information.

207 High alienation was also associated with

- dissatisfaction with the local political influence distribution
- among whites, a satisfaction with Negroes current status
- opposition to local bond referendums and programs.

208 There was no difference between alienation groups on specific, practical political questions, but the high alienation group differed from the low in its high agreement with moralistic condemnations of the government such as corruption.

Terhune (1962)

209 Claiming loyalty to nation before humanity was associated with

- high nationalism
- low advocacy of international cooperation.

210 Nationalism was not correlated with

- attitudes toward international cooperation
- belligerency
- attitudes toward the UN.

Terhune (1964)

211 Nationalism (desire to have own nation acquire or exert power) was positively correlated with

- dogmatism
- respect for high-status figures (authoritarianism trait)
- perceived national power
- perceived internal and external threat if the nation is perceived as powerful.

212 Nationalism is negatively correlated with perceived national status.

Thompson and Horton (1960)

213 Political alienation was negatively correlated with

- socioeconomic class
- occupational status
- education
- age.

Thompson and Horton (1960) continued

214 There was no relationship between political interest and alienation.

215 High alienation was associated with a tendency to vote against local bond issues endorsed by the power structure.

Treiman (1966)

216 No relationship between various measures of status discrepancy and prejudice toward Negroes.

Troldahl (1966)

217 Exposure to a highly informational persuasive message produced attitude change in opinion followers but not in opinion leaders.

218 Among opinion followers, awareness of information inconsistent with present belief tends to result in advice seeking.

Troldahl and Van Dam (1965)

219 Opinion leaders (those asked for their opinion) did not differ from opinion followers (those asking for the opinion) on

- exposure to the relevant media content
- information level
- occupational prestige
- gregariousness.

Vaughan and White (1966)

220 High authoritarianism was associated with

- high attitude conformity across a variety of situations
- cognitive rigidity
- narrowmindedness (intolerance of deviancy).

Wallis (1965)

221 Willingness to spend personal time and money on civil defense programs was associated with

- belief in the imminence of war
- personal anomie.

Warshay, Goldman, and Biddle (1964)

222 Anomie (Srole) was negatively correlated with socioeconomic status with education being the best predictor and age, religion, and minority group membership secondary.

223 Authoritarianism is negatively correlated with socioeconomic status with education being the most strongly related SES variable.

Westerstahl, Sarlvik, and Janson (1961)

224 Those who had a positive opinion of civil defense were more likely to expose themselves to pro-civil defense literature.

225 Support for civil defense programs positively correlated with level of information about civil defense.

Westley and Severin (1964)

226 High usage and source credibility ratings of newspapers as opposed to television was associated with

- high occupational status
- high educational levels
- being a man rather than a woman.

Williams (1963)

227 Authoritarianism was positively correlated with a preference for the use of force in international affairs.

Williams (1966)

228 High authoritarianism was associated with being from the South and having a low educational level.

Wohlford (1966)

229 Thinking about unpleasant events in the future was associated with a greater judged imminence of those events.

Wrightsman (1966)

230 Cooperative behavior in a two person game was associated with beliefs that other people were trustworthy but was not associated with

- personal optimism
- authoritarianism
- political cynicism
- machiavellianism.

Ziller and Long (1965)

231 Dogmatism was negatively correlated with the number of don't know responses to opinion questions.

SPECIAL PROPOSITIONS

McClosky (1967)

232 Isolationism was associated with

- a. high misanthropy
- b. high authoritarianism
- c. distrust of other people
- d. high ethnocentrism
- e. high political cynicism
- f. dissatisfaction with self
- g. high manifest anxiety.

233 Isolationism was associated with

- a. high alienation
- b. low efficacy
- c. low political activism.

234 Isolationism was associated with

- a. low education
- b. low organizational membership
- c. low information level
- d. low political awareness.

235 Isolationism was associated with

- a. domestic political conservatism
- b. advocacy of low defense spending
- c. anti-foreign aid attitudes
- d. anti-U.N. attitudes
- e. high belligerency (use of force).

236 Isolationism was associated with

- a. intolerance of ambiguity
- b. cognitive rigidity
- c. cognitive simplicity
- d. attitudinal extremity.

237 Domestic political liberalism was associated with

- a. pro-immigration attitudes
- b. low tariff advocacy
- c. foreign aid advocacy
- d. pro-U.N. sentiments
- e. no relationship to defense spending.

Rosenberg (1965)

238 Political conservatives were more accepting of hard-line policies than political liberals.

239 Political party identification was not associated with espousal of hard-line foreign policy.

240 There were no differences between middle and working class background respondents on acceptance of hard-line policy.

241 Alienation was negatively correlated with acceptance of hard line policies.

Rosenberg (1965) continued

242 Jews are less accepting of hard-line positions in foreign affairs than other religious groups--they are more political action oriented than shelter supportive.

243 Males tend to worry less about the probability of war and are more likely to accept war as an instrument of national policy.

244 Alienation (Nettler) was uncorrelated with authoritarianism.

245 Authoritarianism is positively correlated with acceptance of hard-line policies.

Scott (1965)

246 Advocacy of military preparedness as a defensive strategy was associated with perceptions of the enemy as strong and dangerous.

247 There is no evidence that advocacy of military preparedness as a defensive strategy is associated with advocacy of belligerent measures in foreign policy.

248 Estimates and expectations of the strength or power of one "big power" nation are positively correlated with estimates and expectations of the strength and power of other "big power" nations.

249 Approval of aggressive measures in foreign policy was associated with disapproval of overtures toward peace.

250 Optimism-pessimism about personal and domestic affairs is associated with optimism-pessimism about international events.

251 Aggressiveness in the interpersonal and domestic domains was associated with aggressiveness in the international domain.

252 A sense of personal security or satisfaction was associated with optimism about international affairs and favorable attitudes toward other nations.

253 Information level about foreign affairs, information level in general, and information seeking are associated with optimism about the chances for world peace.

254 Advocacy of belligerent national policies is associated with confidence in one's superior strength and an expectancy that one's own side would win any conflict.

255 There is a general tendency to see the entire foreign world as either threatening or benign.

256 There is a general tendency to like or dislike all other nations.

257 A desire for friendly relations with other nations was negatively correlated with jingoistic attitudes but positively correlated with advocacy of primarily defensive measures.

Scott (1965) continued

258 Approval of peaceful policies toward other nations is associated with benign images of those countries or of the international situation in general.

259 There is a general tendency to either approve or disapprove all cooperative international activities.

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